565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 The nearest approach to class groupings is
571 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
185 duals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[Text continues on p. 100a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.100a]

565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in
[184] Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (↕). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the har-
monica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

517 Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

● [571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

Some men like gambling for small sums.
517 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well
525 patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized
[276] primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5 men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

291 Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

with their compadres. On the other hand, intense political factionalism may lead directly to a rupture of these "quasi-sibling" bonds; one case of politically motivated homicide between compadres is actually on record (1944).

The compadre tie also has the special function of relating the kinship nucleus of the cacicazgo outward to other leaders, and of relating some of the leaders to each other and to apolitical members of the village. The strength of a cacical system depends in part on the size of its ceremonial kinship ties, as it does on the size of the bilateral structures previously mentioned. Ceremonial kinship, like friendship, also links a few leaders, especially the cacique, sideward and upward to politicians in other villages and in higher informal structures. The institution of ceremonial kinship provides a unique form of intra- and extracommunal integration for this Tarascan cacicazgo.

The last primary relation, that of intimate friendship, is an informal bond of mutual confidence and support, an "informal design" (Kluckhohn, 1945, p. 98), relating the average Indian to about six other men. Friendship is highly selective and jealousy-ridden. It is more flexible than the compadre bond or the nuclear family ties, but like them has important and partially unique political functions. Friendship, first of all, creates another set of political blocks of which each man is a unique focus. Second, friendship surrounds the cacical nucleus with a network of individuals who at any given time may occupy most of the formal offices, while the cacique and his relatives remain in the background. Two of the present cacique's nephews, for example, have never held any formal local office. Friendship also functions to relate major and minor leaders to each other. Sociometric analysis has revealed that almost all the "intimate friends" of the leaders are themselves leaders, forming a group that is directed inward toward itself in this respect.

Friendship is especially important in the Durazno cacicazgo because of the tendency of leaders in such an authoritarian system to become isolated through the traditional and automatic hostility felt toward a person in their status. Such leaders, feeling a need for support, may acquire up to eight or nine close friends. On the other hand, the powerful present-day cacique is a sociometric isolate within the village; most of his friends and compadres live in other parts of the state. This indicates the undemocratic character of his control. All caciques have a number of loyal followers who are neither friends nor relatives but who remain fairly true because of self-interest, fear, or other types of highly personal and deeply ingrained traits.

The quasi-sibling structures of ceremonial kinship and friendship combine with those of natural siblings to form for every individual a horizontal tier the sections of which have definite and partially distinctive political functions. The three horizontal blocks of this tier, while largely discrete for any individual--the "compadrazgo of intensification" being very rare (Paul, 1942)--overlap and intersect as we move from individual to individual. They produce a complicated network of political relations. Numerous oblique sibling and quasi-sibling ties, and the godparent-godchild tie, combine to form a continuum of relations through the generations. Every adult individual is likewise the focus of two interlocking nuclear families and of the three bilateral structures described above--the ejidal family, the household, and the bilateral kindred. These nuclear bilateral and horizontal structures intermesh with one another and with those of other individuals to form the political reticulum of Durazno.

Thus the informal morphology of the Durazno cacicazgo is a special concatenation of structural units found in all parts of the village culture. These structures have general political functions, such as the absolute loyalty of siblings, and also political functions particular to the cacicazgo, such as the way "intimate friendship" relates leaders to each other. The informal structure of the Durazno cacicazgo can thus be described

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kinship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these 66 social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty 667 is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only [621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26), 186 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against 578 the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political 563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The 661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more